MEETING OF MINDS

— James Collins

THE

Commonweal

New Alignments

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by John Logue

From the Middle East

THE IMPOTENCE OF HATRED

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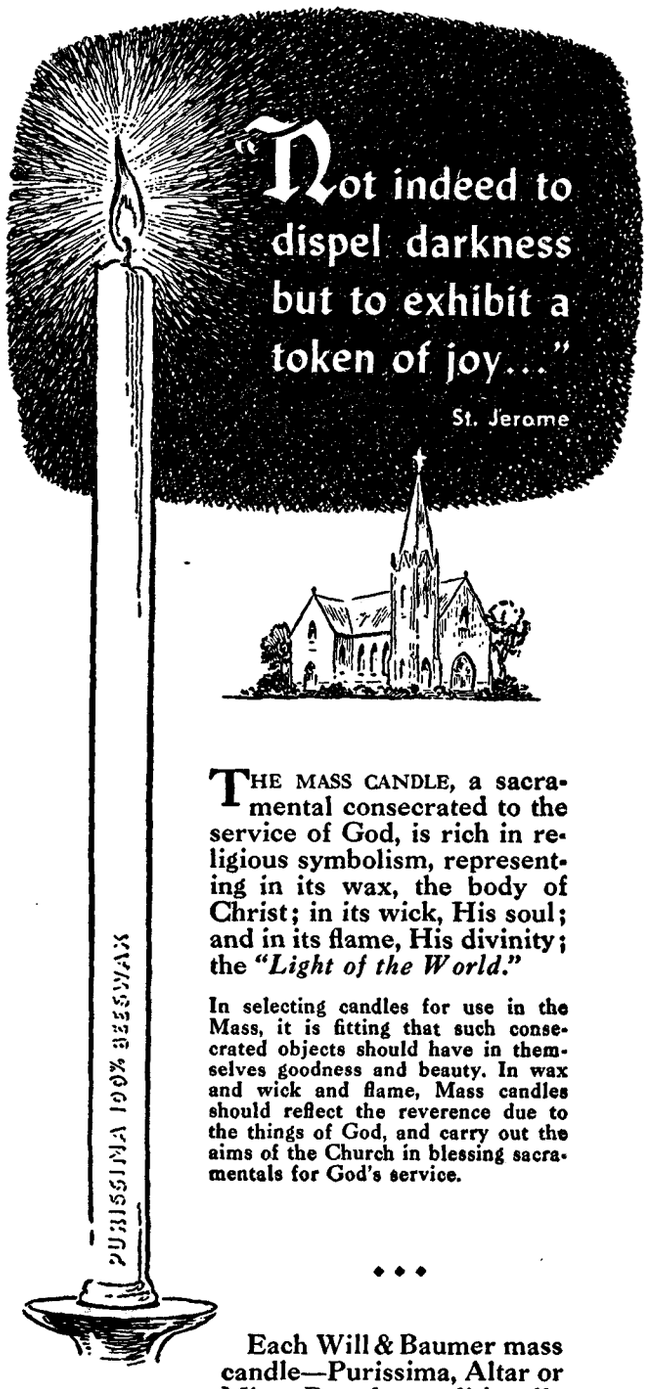

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

NEW ELECTION, OLD APPROACH

FOR SOME Republicans, what they call "the Communist issue" has an almost irresistible fascination. Identifying the Democrats with "twenty years of treason" served them well in the past, and, although responsible GOP leaders from President Eisenhower on down may now decry and deplore, Republicans on the lower echelons just cannot seem to break themselves of the habit. Recently they have been at it again, this time by way of a memorandum prepared by the staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, warning that the Communists want a Democratic victory in November.

The basis for this latest Republican claim was a speech delivered by the Illinois Chairman of the Communist Party. Apparently, whoever prepared the anonymous memo expected trouble; a disclaimer was included which left responsibility for the charges firmly suspended in midair, stating: "neither the members of the Republican Policy Committee nor other Republicans are responsible for the statements herein contained, except such as they are willing to indorse and make their own."

When the papers made the contents of this memo public, Senator Styles Bridges, the chairman of the GOP Policy Committee, was unavailable for comment; other Republican leaders, however, promptly disowned the entire memorandum. Strong Eisenhower supporter Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey said that he disagreed completely with the memo and asked that "this kind of thing be stopped as far as Republicans are concerned." And Senator William F. Knowland, the GOP leader in the Senate, made clear his own disagreement with such tactics, based on his conviction that each of the two major parties "is as devoted to the interests of the United States as the other."

Senator Knowland's statement is certainly the truth, and it is to his credit that he spoke up, promptly and publicly. The opposition of both parties to Communism is unquestionable; on this score they disagree only on means, not on outlook or major goals. In the early years of the cold war, the Democrats were somewhat slow in realizing the dangers of Communist infiltration into sensitive government posts, but they were very quick in acting against Communist aggression by measures like the Marshall Plan, aid to Greece and Turkey, and intervention in Korea. The Republicans, on the other hand, are hyper-sensitive on the question of internal security, but many individuals in the GOP are still tinged with isolationism and hence have no real enthusiasm for international weapons against Communism like foreign aid, military alliances, reducing trade barriers between free nations, and the like. As far as opposing Communism goes, the voter must make his choice between the two parties according to the importance he himself assigns to these different factors. But it is nonsense to think of either of the two major parties as anything but anti-Communist.

IT IS TRUE, of course, that for some people being against something because the Communists favor it has always had the terrible appeal of the overly simple solution. Yet it is clearly the height of political foolishness, because it means the abdication of independent reason. During World War II the Communists opposed any and all kinds of work stoppage because Mother Russia was being attacked; if the reasoning of the GOP memorandum had been followed, all good Americans should then have favored work stoppages and strikes galore. In the same way, today one would have to be against public housing, because the Communists say they

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favor it, and for segregation, because they oppose it. There is simply no end to the nonsense possible if one follows this kind of reasoning; in the end it simply means allowing the Communists to determine American policy, although in a negative rather than a positive way.

So Senators Knowland and Smith were certainly right in disowning the memo prepared by Senator Bridges' staff on the Policy Planning Committee. But they might make more impression on some of their fellow Republicans by quietly pointing out that this time it is not impossible that the shoe might end up on the other foot, to the great embarrassment of all concerned.

Perhaps the Communists will favor the Democrats in November; right now they seem interested in attempting the impossible, a return to the mentality of a Popular Front of all "progressive forces." But it is not at all inconceivable that the Communists might do another flip-flop by election time. The Russian leaders give President Eisenhower much of the credit for the relaxation of tension which has come to be associated with "the Geneva spirit," and American visitors to Russia report many friendly toasts to Mr. Eisenhower, accompanied by solicitous remarks about his health. If the American Communists end up publicly in favor of peace and prosperity under President Eisenhower, it will certainly be ironic—and perhaps the only way some Republicans will learn that the attempt to use "the Communist issue" for domestic political gain is senseless, no matter which party is hurt by it.

A BOOK AND POLITICS

NOT MANY authors are as lucky as Robert J. Donovan of the New York *Herald Tribune* has been in getting publicity for their books. Mr. Donovan is the author of the recently published *Eisenhower: The Inside Story,* and his book was not even off the presses when he found himself the center of a growing storm.

Before its publication in book form, portions of Mr. Donovan's work appeared serially in the *Herald Tribune,* a solidly Republican, pro-Ike paper. His account is generally considered to be an Administration-inspired work, not without criticism because it was written by an honest reporter. Right-wing Republicans do not like it for several reasons. For one thing, Mr. Donovan reports that during President Eisenhower's first two years in office, during which the Republicans controlled Congress, he was so unhappy with the lack of cooperation he received from his fellow-Republicans that he seriously considered forming and heading a third political party. For another, they do not like the fact that Mr. Eisenhower is quoted as saying about Senator McCarthy, "I will not get in the gutter with that guy." Some Democrats, on the other hand, think they see in the book plenty of platform-ammunition; others are complaining that the book is a Republican campaign document. But, partisan politics aside, the most serious question raised about the book involves the Constitutional separation of powers.

Senator McClellan of Arkansas, Democratic head of the Senate Investigations Committee, has long been insisting that the Executive branch hand over to his committee certain official papers and records. This, President Eisenhower has refused to do. Now supporters of Congress's side in this perennial dispute say that the President has destroyed his own argument by allowing a newspaperman access to material denied to Congress.

There is no doubt that much will be made of this argument, and Mr. Donovan may yet find himself hauled before Congress and put under great pressure to reveal his sources inside the Administration. So far, members of the White House staff have refused to testify before Senator McClellan's committee on this matter, but Mr. Donovan will not find it so easy to refuse. We think, however, the President's position is quite correct. He can order the files and records of the Executive branch to be used as he sees fit. He may make a wise decision or a foolish one, but it is his to make; we still do not think that Congress can command him to hand over what it asks. There is a difference here, and it is an important one.

NEXT WEEK

JOSEPH F. MENEZ writes about the advantages of the national political convention.

"The word 'compromise' is, to some, a 'bad word,' and yet without it the nominating process would be impossible. . . . It is difficult to understand why a technique used daily, from the settling of labor-management disputes to domestic differences, is considered objectionable in politics."

ANOTHER WORLD

BY NOW the average skeptical reader in our country is able to look upon the never-never

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world of advertising promises with a sophisticated eye. It is a world in which all can be strong, attractive and wealthy, where one's conversation can be forever sparkling, one's friends interesting, one's tenderest hopes fulfilled. Nor is quiet happiness denied. This product, too, can be had. All that is necessary is to use that cosmetic, wear this wardrobe, follow a new diet, write better letters, read that book. There are no failures here, only continual successes, and even conflicting desires can be simultaneously fulfilled.

It is clearly a world filled with projections of hidden wishes and desires. This world, whose very existence depends upon insecurities and anxieties which advertising probes and explores, has all the reality of science fiction or fantasy literature. And it offers the same opportunity of pleasant escape. Not long ago, one solicitous manufacturer warned the buyer not to purchase a particular line of shirts unless he was prepared to see the course of his life changed. For, with the shirt, he would so stand out that he would automatically get a salary-increase, be regarded as a social asset and be invited to exclusive clubs. The new shirt was obviously to be regarded as a way of life. And it was pleasant to toy with this idea before taking the manufacturer's advice, rejecting the challenge and returning to one's old familiar path.

All of this—the advertising that is compelling, foolish, clever or dull—has become part of our world and can be accepted with a degree of equanimity. We expect advertisers to offer to us, enticingly packaged and brilliantly presented, milk and cigarettes, love and beauty. Against the onslaught of the advertisers, there are few defenses.

But there are certain institutions, august and venerable, for which the customary trickeries of advertising seem inappropriate. One of these is, assuredly, the New York *Times*. This compendium of information, this daily storehouse of facts and figures, scarcely needs the blandishments that other products resort to. Yet there appeared in a recent issue of the *Times* an ad which asked in large type, "How much weight do *you* swing in your circle of friends?" And smaller type assured the reader, "You'll swing a lot more by reading the New York *Times* every day."

The quandary in which this places those who already read the *Times* every day is matter for speculation, but of the approach itself, what can one say? When even the *Times* trades on our lesser feelings to boost subscriptions, maybe there is little left to do but read the New York *Times*, swing that weight, impress those friends.

PYRRHIC VICTORY

SECRETARY OF STATE Dulles recently held his first televised news conference and, via coaxial cable, radiated exultation and confidence to the nation. For Mr. Dulles had taken a gamble which seemed to have paid off, and he was very pleased. He had released the text of Nikita Khrushchev's speech denouncing Stalin, and felt that he had thereby stirred up against Mr. Khrushchev angry reactions and agonizing questions from within the national Communist parties throughout the world.

With this in mind, Secretary Dulles declared that "international Communism is in a state of perplexity," and he labeled the anti-Khrushchev statements of Messrs. Togliatti, Thorez and Dennis a "revolt," which he had helped to foment by his daring and unusual action of having the State Department release the private speech of the political head of another government. As a consequence of this revolt, Mr. Dulles continued, Moscow's control over foreign Communist parties had been "very much shaken and loosened," and he was anxious to exploit this situation as much as possible. He even intimated that Mr. Khrushchev might find himself strangled in the new Party line.

Mr. Dulles has been hard hit by his critics lately, and we do not begrudge him his hour in the synthetic sun of the TV lights. We recognize, too, that the Secretary of State, as a member of the Administration, is entitled to a modicum of domestic politicking, and Secretary Dulles has chosen not to imitate Dean Acheson, whose repugnance to partisan infighting eventually made him the captive of his critics. Certainly Mr. Dulles' eagerness to take partial credit for "the perplexity of international Communism" is understandable in a Presidential election year.

But this eagerness does pose certain problems of its own. Even if one were fully to grant all that Secretary Dulles said, it is difficult to see how he hopes to gain his objective of expanding the breach in the Communist world by exultantly proclaiming that this breach threatens the unity and effectiveness of the Communist movement. He wants Messrs. Togliatti, Thorez, Dennis and others to continue their criticisms of Mr. Khrushchev, but then points out that such criticism is a victory for the West and is, indeed, the result of adroit maneuvering on Mr. Dulles' own part. He would seem thereby to have given Mr. Khrushchev a strong argument to use against the "rebellious" Communist leaders of Rome, Paris and New York. The quickest way to

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get the enemy to close ranks is gleefully to point out to him that they are open. In all, Mr. Dulles might have done better to represent the crisis within Communism as the inevitable breakdown of a defective machine rather than to claim credit for having thrown a monkeywrench.

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

THE PRIME MINISTERS of the nine countries which make up the British Commonwealth met recently in London. Differing in color, background and policies, these nine men are the democratically elected representatives of one-fifth of the world's population and form the membership of what has been called, by several foreign correspondents, "the world's most exclusive and sophisticated political club."

These men had not come together to hammer out common policies, to effect multi-lateral agreements or to make headlines. They had come together to talk, and there is every indication that they did precisely that. Without a formal agenda, they talked bluntly in the morning and afternoon, and then dined together amicably in the evening. Thus, for ten days, these men presented their views on the common problems of mankind—the Soviet shift, the threat of nuclear war, the rise of Communist China, the vexed problems of trade and economic development. There was no effort to debate or to persuade; there was only an effort to clarify and understand the divergent views of each nation.

The least that can be said of such a meeting as the Commonwealth Conference is that it is a civilized way of conducting the affairs of nations, and thus makes more bitter the failure of what Pope Pius has called the "family of mankind" to realize that its true interests could be best preserved by just such civility.

WANTED: STATEMENT OF POLICY

ONE OF the trials of an election year in the United States is that partisan politics tend to obscure the real issues. The world of the election year differs remarkably from that of the following year. Thus, numerous critics of the Administration have been able to point out that our foreign policy is not what it is said to be, that it seems to be quite unformed when it does not actually contradict itself.

In the Middle East, the critics say, the U.S. has adopted the policy—traditionally assigned to the genius of Britain—of muddling through. Our country insists that a weakening NATO is stronger than its other members judge it to be. In addition, critics say the Administration makes opposing statements about the morality and advantages of neutralism and regrets that we must rely upon words to communicate meaning; it terms international Communism a failure, just when the Russians make their strongest move to gain the sympathy of the world. Further, it is confused about why we should extend foreign aid, to whom it should be given and in what amounts.

Nor is our domestic situation judged to be in better shape. We have pressing problems concerning civil liberties, immigration, desegregation. Yet even the best declaration concerning these problems is seldom, if ever, followed by a clear cut policy.

These are now the standard criticisms leveled at our present Administration. But in upholding its slogan of "Peace and Prosperity," the Republicans must suggest, not only that we have them now, but that we would continue to have them in a Republican future. And they are thus driven to upholding all actions of the present Administration with vigor, whether the actions are good, bad or contradictory.

The party of the opposition has the traditional role of critic and the Democrats have played it well. But our present situation demands more than criticism, however true, incisive and responsible. We need additional positive suggestions from our national leaders.

Those who are in the best position to offer suggestions that will be heard are, of course, the contenders for the Democratic Presidential nomination. They have, quite naturally, been the most direct and articulate critics of the present Administration and in their various campaign speeches they have offered some positive contributions. A responsible statement, in specific terms, of the course we should follow in both domestic and foreign policy would render a service not only to the spokesman and his party; it would increase the measure of reality that now exists in Presidential political discussion. This kind of statement of policy should take form at the convention, rather than any collection of political odds-and-ends designed to satisfy conflicting interests. Then the average citizen will be less likely to awaken after the election to an unfamiliar and frightening world where slogans have little meaning and less effect.

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Challenge in the UN

"WE CANNOT WIN THE BATTLE OF COMPETITIVE COEXISTENCE UNLESS WE ARE MORE CONSISTENTLY ON THE SIDE OF PRINCIPLE"

JOHN LOGUE

THE SUDDEN enlargement of the UN by the admission of sixteen new member-nations will pose a major challenge to American diplomacy and to the political wisdom of the American people. Because the "package deal" went through in mid-December only a short time before the Tenth General Assembly adjourned, the impact of the new members was hardly felt. It will be felt this fall when, soon after our Presidential elections, the Eleventh General Assembly convenes. The new nations will tend to make the UN more anti-colonial, more strongly in favor of economic development under UN auspices—and more neutralist.

The United States will be tempted to respond to this challenge in a negative way, by supporting a "strict construction" of the Charter, by de-emphasis on the General Assembly and, perhaps, by a renewed emphasis on the Security Council. Such a negative response is the easy answer; but it is also a most dangerous one. An affirmative response would enable the United States to work through the UN actively to assist colonial areas to get their independence. It would also mean seeing to it that these and other underdeveloped areas receive the substantial help which they require to develop their economies—again through the UN wherever possible. Such a response, placing a new and strong emphasis on the UN, would require real political courage as well as considerable political astuteness. It would not, however, be a great strain on our resources. A brief look at the new UN members and at their probable choice of political alignments within the UN will make clear why we will be tempted by the negative course and why we must reject it in favor of a positive response.

Of the sixteen new UN members, four are European satellites of the Soviet Union: Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. Six are non-Communist European nations: Austria, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain. The remaining six include two Arab nations, Libya and Jordan, and four South or Southeast Asian nations, Cambodia, Ceylon, Laos and Nepal. The four satellite nations will doubtless vote with the Soviet bloc. Four or five of the non-Communist European nations probably will tend to make common cause with the West. However the fifth, Austria, officially embraced neutrality as a condition of her reunification and independence. Thus the West cannot definitely count on her. The sixth, Finland, has definite neutralist inclinations. Jordan and Libya will probably follow the general line of the Arab-Asian nations in the UN: anti-colonial, pro-UN activity in economic development, and of two—or more—minds with respect to the Soviet threat. In South and Southeast Asia, Ceylon will tend toward the Nehruist neutralism of India, Burma and Indonesia, as will Nepal. Cambodia and Laos are officially committed to neutrality.

To sum up: while the "package deal" has given the West a small percentage of increase in its absolute strength, it has nearly doubled the strength of the Communist bloc and has increased the numbers of the "uncommitted nations" by nearly one half. Thus, within the General Assembly the package deal will mean a very substantial and very important decline in the relative voting strength of the West, assuming that there will be no major changes in Western policies. One way of indicating the import of these changes is to recall the three "fractions" which help to shape the politics of the General Assembly: the two-thirds vote required for action on "important matters"; the one-third-plus-one vote required to prevent such action; and the one-half-plus-one vote which decides procedural questions.

WHEN THE UN had sixty members, forty General Assembly votes were needed for the Assembly to take action on "important matters." Now fifty-one are required. Forty votes was not an impossible goal for the West. The roll call of the Western alliance system, if all the members went along, resulted in the necessary number of votes. On the "right" issue there were the twelve NATO members of the UN, the United States, twenty Latin American associates in the RIO Treaty, five Asian or Australasian associates from SEATO, two associates from the Baghdad Pact and, lastly, Nationalist China, with whom the United States has a bilateral treaty. For these forty nations there were

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a number of possible allies, including Sweden, South Africa, Liberia, Ethiopia and Israel. Thus, on many issues forty votes was a real possibility. Given the distribution of the new members, it will prove much more difficult to attain.

It was easy to get the twenty-one votes necessary to *prevent* General Assembly action on important matters. Latin America plus the U. S. could do the trick. The twelve NATO nations needed only nine allies to enable them to block action. On a matter of interest to leading NATO countries, such as blocking Assembly condemnation of a colonial power, some Latin American and other support could usually be relied on. Now that twenty-six votes are necessary to block such Assembly action, the "anti-anti-colonial bloc" may find the going more difficult. The four satellite nations and the six non-European nations seem certain to be anti-colonial. Spain, now making friendly approaches to the Arab world, and Ireland and Finland may well vote with the anti-colonials. The West's "defensive" voting strength may also become less effective in the matter of elections to other UN bodies, e.g. the Security Council. Here, too, a two-thirds majority is required.

The General Assembly decides "unimportant matters" by a simple majority, which comprised thirty-one votes in the "old UN." Such is the implication of the statement in Article 18 that "important questions" shall be decided by a two-thirds majority. However, these "unimportant matters" may have great significance. One such question is the determination of General Assembly agendas. In the past the Arab-Asian nations seldom expected to get the two-thirds vote necessary to approve an anti-colonial resolution. However they fought to get, and in a number of cases succeeded in getting, the Assembly to discuss such questions, a substantial accomplishment, judging by the vigorous effort which the colonial powers had made to prevent such action.

The vote last October to discuss "the Algerian question" is warning of what the West may expect from the new UN if the West does not change its policies. By a one vote majority, and over France's strenuous objections, the Assembly decided to discuss Algeria. Twenty-eight nations voted yes, twenty-seven voted no, and five abstained. Six of the twelve pro-French votes from Latin America were canceled by the six anti-French votes. SEATO members Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines voted against France. So did Iran and Iraq, members of the Baghdad Pact. Nationalist China, a member of the Western alliance, abstained. Within NATO, Greece, an enemy of British colonialism on Cyprus, voted against France. Iceland abstained, perhaps a harbinger of her present concern that foreign troops leave her soil. What votes did France get? Ten NATO votes, twelve Latin American votes, two non-Western SEATO votes, Australia and New Zealand, and the votes of Sweden, South Africa and Israel.

It is true that France was finally successful in getting the Assembly to table the Algerian question. A threat to veto every admissions proposal is said to have been her weapon. The result is ironic. Now it will be infinitely easier for the strengthened anti-colonial bloc to put anti-colonial items on the Assembly's agenda and, as indicated above, somewhat easier for it to drive them through to passage. Given recent developments in Algeria and Cyprus it will be difficult to block discussion of these questions in this fall's session. Where will the United States stand?

And shall this country, in the new UN, continue to oppose the establishment of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), a project favored by a majority of the old UN and sure to be even more popular in the new UN? Shall we act as if the admission of these new states—not to speak of the Soviet new look—did not make imperative a reevaluation of these and other American policies with respect to the UN?

AMERICANS should be particularly well equipped to deal with the changes inherent in the substantial increase in UN membership. The political challenge implied in the admission of new states to the Union—not to speak of new immigrations and other population shifts—is a major theme of American history. Nevertheless, the United States can, if it chooses, ignore the lessons from its own past and adopt the "go-it-alone" position of the ante-bellum South. All new uses of General Assembly power can be opposed. As to powers recently won, for example the right to discuss colonial matters, we can say that experience has strengthed our doubts as to their wisdom and constitutionality. Proposals such as SUNFED can be opposed even more strongly than they have been in the past. For who knows, we can say, what the enlarged UN might do with the money we would be contributing to such an agency. We can say that public opinion in the United States no longer supports, "if it ever did," broad interpretations of the UN's powers. Congress, it could be asserted, is increasingly of the opinion that American aid to underdeveloped nations is best given, if at all, directly, rather than through the UN, a UN in which our ideas "will no longer get a sympathetic reception." We can even, though it is quite unlikely that we will, propose that the Charter be amended in a strict constructionist direction.

Naturally, such a policy reversal would not escape criticism. No UN member can forget that it was American action which brought about what is probably the broadest construction of the Charter to date. This was the Acheson "Uniting for Peace" Resolution by which, in the fall of 1950, the General Assembly declared itself competent to deal with security matters whenever the Security Council was paralyzed by a veto. And we have,

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by certain abstentions, given real, though limited, support to the idea that the Assembly can discuss colonial questions, i.e. that such discussions do not constitute, as the colonial powers say they do, interference in the domestic affairs of members of the UN, an action forbidden by Charter Article 2. And, finally, the UN will recall that it was U. S. initiative which last November got a reluctant General Assembly to take a tentative but important step in the direction of revision of the UN Charter itself.

We can, in short, try to de-emphasize the UN and thus fight a kind of holding action in it. The Russians did this in the UN's first ten years. It is extremely significant that the Russians are now changing their policy with respect to the UN. We have certainly, whether wisely or not, ignored the UN in many of our most important policies. We can ignore it to an even greater extent in the future. But such de-emphasis on the UN can at best lead to an indefinite stalemate in world politics—although that is quite unlikely. It will, however, make impossible what is really necessary if the world is to live in peace—victory in the cold war for the things for which America at her best, and the UN at its best, stand.

WE CANNOT win the battle of competitive coexistence unless we are more consistently on the side of principle and of building the only international organization there is. Only then can we exploit the great weaknesses in the armor of the Soviet Union. How could our righteous calls for the liberation of Poland ring true while we remained silent about Tunisia and Morocco? If the terms of competition were the same as in Edmund Burke's day, we too could ignore doctrine and rely on force and finances, without regard to ideology. But in our day, force, except for defensive purposes, cannot and should not be the answer. More than ever we must put our faith in ideas and example, promises and performance. We cannot, as the brilliant but tragic example of British foreign policy has shown, regard principles—and other nations—as instruments to be used, in however civilized and considerate a fashion, in our interest. We must instead try to serve principle and serve the common interest. Only thus can our leadership be truly fruitful.

A year ago at Bandung on the 18th of April, as President Eisenhower recently reminded us, President Sukarno of Indonesia welcomed the Asian and African delegates, many of them veterans of several UN sessions, by quoting some lines from "Paul Revere's Ride." The quotation, he said, was appropriate since the poem celebrated the first and most influential anti-colonial revolution, the American one. He was reminding us of our own heritage and, no doubt, urging us to live up to it. The reminder evidently had little effect. In the year since Bandung we have, within and outside the UN, managed to support the French position in Algeria and, indirectly, the British position in Cyprus. We have even implied that we supported the Portugese position in Goa. Meanwhile an increasingly anti-Western Egypt, with the help of Communist arms and Communist votes in the General Assembly, has been helping the Algerians to gain their freedom. It has also been doing its best to destroy or nullify the new Baghdad Pact. A year to the month after Bandung one of the principal anti-Communist spokesmen there, the Ceylonese Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, had fallen to the assault of Ceylonese neutralism.

Soon after these Ceylonese elections President Eisenhower took occasion to remind the American people of their anti-colonial tradition and to ask our sympathetic understanding of the problems the newly free nations face. But did this speech, in many respects excellent, really mark a major change in our attitude to colonialism? The President talked as if the problem of colonialism had been solved. He ignored the great anti-colonial struggles still going on in Cyprus, in Algeria and in much of the rest of Africa. Reading his speech one would gather that Soviet colonialism was all that remained of the problem. It may be of some comfort to the Indians, the Burmese and others that we are *now* happy that they are free. But they are more interested in whether we intend to change our policy with respect to Algeria and Cyprus. Ambassador Dillon's mid-March statement reassured them. He told the world that the "French Republic, in its search for a liberal solution that will insure the French presence in North Africa, had the wholehearted support of the United States Government." One month later, five days after the President's speech, the Algerian moderates disbanded their Democratic Union and joined the rebels. Both groups of Algerians now insist that France renounce her claim to Algeria as part of metropolitan France and recognize her as a nation.

For different but not dissimilar reasons Western diplomacy, narrowly defined, has suffered major defeats in Iceland, in Jordan and in the recent Greek elections. In the French parliamentary election, in the Italian Presidential election and in the German state elections, which determine the character of the upper house of the German Parliament, the pro-Western forces have suffered

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serious reversals. These three reversals in West Europe, together with increasing foot-dragging with respect to NATO commitments, are hardly attributable to our support of colonialism. However they do, I believe, stem from two convictions: that in an age of nuclear parity NATO is not as important as we think it is; and that America has not shown and will not show the imagination and will required to win the cold war. The phenomenon of redefection is as much attributable to this second belief as to the Soviet new look.

The temptation to non-alignment has certainly been increased by the uncertain and often unwise leadership which we have lately given the Western Alliance. But even if our diplomacy becomes more diplomatic and our policies much wiser, the temptation to non-alignment will increase nonetheless. The nuclear and missile arms race makes it ever clearer that small nations allied to the U. S. may be destroyed overnight in a nuclear war. Unaligned, they may, if the U. S. wins, survive intact and keep their freedom or, if the U. S. loses, at least survive and, though enslaved, hope to regain their freedom. How can we meet this problem?

WE MUST NOT choose the easy and dangerous answer to the UN's sudden increase. A negative policy of strict construction of the Charter and de-emphasis of the UN will not do. We must give strong support to the existing union of nations and to positive policies within it, favoring and forwarding anti-colonialism, economic development and political self-determination. The United States must exchange its somewhat negative leadership of the old UN for a positive leadership of the new UN. Such a policy change will bring with it difficulties which will demand political courage and political wisdom in equal parts. To disassociate ourselves from the colonialism of the colonial powers and still keep them as allies may require us to deal with, or, if possible, have the UN deal with, the economic and security problems which the loss of colonies may bring them. The loss of assured raw materials, assured markets and the like is hard for the colonial powers to take as they meet keener competition from Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union.

If we unburden our consciences by becoming unequivocally anti-colonial and, it is to be hoped, doing better on the civil rights issues at home, our calls for Soviet withdrawal from her satellites may well be more effective. If, through the UN and by direct help, we have aided the new African and Asian nations to win, retain, or regain democratic institutions we may eventually hope to rouse the Russian and mainland-Chinese peoples against the totalitarian regimes which tyrannize them and, inevitably, endanger the whole world.

There are still a few months before the sixteen new UN members take their seats in their first full session of the General Assembly. There is therefore still time for our statesmen to reconsider our past policies and to modify them in a fashion that will allow us to take the leadership of the enlarged UN as the Eleventh General Assembly convenes. We have in our traditions, both ancient and recent, rich resources for such an endeavor.

FROM THE MIDDLE EAST

The Impotence of Hatred

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

NO OTHER trouble-spot in the world seems surrounded with more emotional thinking, crude propaganda or, generally speaking, subject to more optical illusions than is the present conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours. It has been said with good reason that if the only practical result of Mr. Hammarskjold's visit is that he has been able to realize this fact, then his new knowledge of the situation is in itself a great advantage.

It is difficult to speak about this conflict candidly without giving the impression of being cynical, and yet there are a few things to be said about it even if one's remarks hurt both sides and seem uncharitable. One of these things is the problem of the Arab refugees. As everybody remembers, nearly a million Arabs fled from Palestine during the war between the Arabs and Israelis in 1948, and a great number of them have settled in huge camps scattered all over the countries which adjoin Israel; some of the camps, in fact, are quite close to the present demarcation line. The plight of these people is pathetic; they have been in the camps for more than eight years, without anything effectively happening to resettle them elsewhere or to return them to the territory from which they came,

Mr. Kumlien, The Commonweal's regular correspondent in Rome, sends this dispatch from Damascus.

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which is now part of Israel. It is, however, too easily overlooked that the refugee problem is endemic in the Middle East and has been so for ages. Racial or religious minorities have been massacred or pushed about, often most brutally, according to the primitive law of *vae victis,* woe to the vanquished.

In the suburbs of many of the larger towns all over the Middle East strange shacks can be seen, built completely of rusty pieces of sheet iron, old boxes, petrol cans and mud, lacking sewage, electricity or water. These strange huts are unbelievably crowded with human beings; the stench is nauseating and everything is covered with clouds of flies. These people are not, however, Arab refugees from Palestine. Some of them are ordinary Bedouins who have moved into the neighborhood of the towns from the desert. Many others are Armenian refugees who have lived like this since they had to flee the Turkish persecutions and massacres more than thirty-six years ago at the end of World War I. Who remembers "the forty days of Musa Dagh" today? They are among the forgotten refugees; for them, the Arab refugees from Palestine, most of whom live in real mud huts and receive a small but regular allowance of foodstuff from UNRRA, are enviable aristocrats.

There is no choice for these waves of refugees: they perish or they get used to this life and form the layer of "subhuman" humanity on which all these countries seem to have been founded since time immemorial. Probably most of them hate their situation desperately at the beginning, but then the undernourishment, the stench and the flies gain the upper hand and the refugees become completely apathetic. Vengeance itself becomes a luxury out of reach, and the all-dominating problem becomes how to survive from one day to the next. It is the level of humanity of which George Orwell asked in one of his colonial essays: "Are they really the same flesh as ourselves? Do they even have names? Or are they merely a kind of undifferentiated brown stuff, about as individual as bees or coral insects?"

The hatred against Israel and, generally speaking, against all strangers from the West has now reached such a point within the Arab refugee camps that it is risky for a Westerner to visit them without a bodyguard. Again and again it happens that tourists to the Holy Land are attacked by infuriated mobs of refugees who smash their cameras or hurl stones at them. But however tragic their situation is, they are not really a problem, exactly as the Armenian refugees are not a problem any more. They have hated now for eight years, and in spite of the fact that this hatred has been maintained and whipped up by people interested in maintaining it, it is strangely powerless and impotent. The most these people have been able to achieve as far as action is concerned are the famous "suicide patrols," some of which have pushed deep inside Israel, killing its people and blowing up cars and houses. But the Israeli retaliation has been ruthless and the price the few raiding survivors have paid has been terrific, after they have been tracked down by the police dogs and caught. The only remaining outlet for the Arab refugees has therefore been to attack unsuspecting tourists.

NOT ONLY among the Arab refugees but in all the Arab nations the hatred against Israel and consequently against all strangers is increasing like a rising tide. It is a primitive, instinctive hatred, which seems to be indifferent to logical argument. It is therefore extremely difficult to measure by Western standards, and seems to be particularly violent among young people. But here again it has a strange tendency to turn into self-destruction. During an American exhibition recently held in Damascus a big globe was smashed to pieces by a group of infuriated students, because they had discovered the name "Israel" on it. The big airlines are compelled to print special timetables for the Arab countries, wherein all references to Israel are carefully canceled. The Arab Legion in Jordan was, during the Arab-Israeli war, the best Arab fighting unit, thanks to its staff of British officers and to its British commander, the famous Glubb Pasha. Now Glubb has been sent packing and the remaining British officers are winding up their affairs. The reason is nothing but plain xenophobia and the fact that Glubb tried to refrain from war. The immediate result has been that the Arab Legion has deteriorated so rapidly that it has attracted the attention of foreign military observers, most of whom think that it will soon be as inefficient as the remaining Arab armies. Again, hatred of the foreigner has led the Arabs to a form of self-destruction.

One of the greatest European experts on the Arab world who, after forty years, is still in a prominent position and whose name I therefore cannot disclose, wondered during a long talk I had with him why the West does not sell large quantities of the most modern arms to the Arabs. The Arab rulers can afford it, he said, thanks to the truly astronomic oil royalties, but the maximum the Arabs would be able to achieve with these arms would be—to kill themselves. The corruption among the Arab leaders is so bottomless, he went on, that it would be an easy enterprise for Israel to buy through intermediaries any of these arms in which it might be interested. Such a transaction has, in fact, already happened and the Arab leader responsible managed to escape punishment and save his profits.

Progress has certainly been made on the Arab side during recent years and the most scandalous abuses have

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been abolished, particularly in Egypt, my informant went on, but no substantial change has taken place. The corruption, the wishful thinking, and even the megalomania continues to be such among the Arab political and military leaders, their embittered internal divisions are so deep and their soldiers so primitive, that the quality of their opposition to Israel is almost the quality of the Indians of South America facing the Spanish *conquistadores*. According to his view—and his experience of the subject can be compared to that of Lawrence of Arabia—the Arab countries suffer from what he called an apparently "incurable military impotence." And he agreed with most Western military observers on the Arab side, that if Israel should choose to attack or counterattack it would easily push the Egyptians back to the Suez Canal, the Arab Legion deep into the deserts of Saudi Arabia and the Syrians to the neighborhood of Damascus. But this would by no means necessarily mean that the Israelis are extraordinarily good soldiers. It would, in his opinion, be an operation easy to carry out for any Western military unit of the size of Israel's army and in the same situation.

WHAT OF the Communist danger in the Arab countries? It has without any doubt been exaggerated, at least up to this time. This is easy to notice in Syria, one of Israel's Arab neighbors that has made most concessions to both the Communist countries and the local Communists. First of all, the Arab leaders have used the Communist danger in a rather naive attempt to blackmail the West: if you give more arms to Israel, we will all become Communists. In fact, there is a striking number of very big commercial, cultural and military delegations from practically all of the "people's democracies" in most Arab countries. But if one gets into contact with these delegations—and it is not difficult, for the general "relaxation" has made them quite talkative—they make no secret of the utter suspicion they meet and their difficulty in achieving positive results, with the exception of the well-known big arm deals which, however, have mainly a mutual propaganda value. They are, in other words, largely up against the same difficulties as any other stranger in the Arab countries at the moment.

There is a quite amusing experiment that could be made with the Arabs' threat to become Communist if more arms are given to Israel. They naturally expect the West to be worried by this disquieting prospect. It might be worthwhile to try a different reaction and simply say: "By all means, become Communists, if you feel that way. You are free to embrace the political faith which most appeals to you and the West has no business to interfere in your choice." The result would show clearly enough that what most Arabs fear above all is to be left alone with the Communist countries.

The local Communists are a different matter. Syria is the only one among Israel's neighbors which has allowed the Communists to come out in the open, and she uses them most brazenly as blackmail against the West. Many wealthy Syrians, who know better than anybody else what a Communist regime would mean for them, boast about having voted Communist. In spite of all these favorable circumstances, the Communists have only one seat out of one hundred and forty-two in Parliament and show clearly enough that they do not have much confidence in the future. Communists are found mainly among the poorest and most destitute Arab refugees and among the best of the Arab intellectuals, who seem to have become Communists out of sheer despair and out of disgust for the general corruption and powerlessness of Syria. In the other Arab countries the local Communist leaders are clapped in jail now more readily than ever before, precisely out of fear for the risks connected with the official honeymoon with the Communist countries.

As soon as the uneasy armistice between Israel and its neighbors is interrupted by some major clash, there is usually much talk in the Arab countries about the "volunteers" of Moslem faith, to be specially trained somewhere in the USSR in order to intervene and help the Arabs in case of a conflict with Israel. The forty million Moslems in the USSR are to a great extent of Turkish blood, and were used during the last war when Soviet troops occupied the Northern part of Persia. It is naturally impossible to foresee whether or not the Arab countries would accept that badly needed help in case of emergency, in spite of their general suspicion towards all strangers, regardless of where they come from. Many European observers on the spot tend to think that in this case the emotional fear of Israel would be greater than the fear of foreigners from so far away. And this possibility is the risk to peace, for it would naturally entail military intervention from the West and a situation might arise reminiscent of the civil war in Spain. This is indeed one of the most disquieting aspects of the extraordinary weakness of the Arab countries.

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Meeting of Minds

JAMES COLLINS

IT IS PARTICULARLY difficult to devise any accurate scale of measurement for the vitality of a philosophy. Philosophy is not capturable in statistics about memberships, grants, and publications, however necessary it is to have this information. The philosophical enterprise consists properly in the intellectual analysis of basic human questions. This work goes on in trained minds, and hence the only way to determine whether or not a philosophy is flourishing is to catch the philosophic minds on the wing, to observe them actually tackling the problems of man.

One such opportunity for gaining a true sampling of the present quality of American Thomism was provided during June at Saint Louis University. For four days, representatives from philosophy departments throughout the country were engaged in a Colloquium on Thomism and Contemporary Philosophy. Its purpose was to bring about a meeting of minds on an intellectual basis that was at once friendly and searching. At each day's session, a fundamental problem was examined by both a Thomist and a non-Thomist philosopher. Their views were then submitted to careful scrutiny and lively discussion, both at the group level and in a general period of questioning. Thomistic approaches were made by Professors Vernon Bourke and Leonard Eslick, Fathers Robert Henle and George Klubertanz, all of them members of the philosophy department at Saint Louis University. In order to insure a fair and strong presentation of the best contemporary thinking outside of Thomism, some eminent philosophers were invited to participate because of their own original and forceful professional work. Naturalism was represented by Professor Sidney Hook (New York University), an antinaturalist theory of moral and cultural values by Professor Eliseo Vivas (Northwestern University), and the strain of contextualism and Whiteheadian thought by Professors Lewis Hahn and Donald Hodges (of Washington University and the University of Missouri, respectively). Their contributions assured the conference of a vigorous and sustained dialogue between some Thomists and some leading philosophic minds in America.

That there is a critical need for achieving genuine communication between Thomists and other philosophers is evident to anyone observing the present philosophical scene. In the Summer issue of *Thought* for 1955, there appeared a report by Professor Van Cleve Morris of the University of Georgia, who spent the greater part of a semester at a Catholic university. His purpose was to study the problem of cooperation and intellectual justice between Thomists and pragmatists (with whom he somewhat narrowly identified the other positions in America today). "By far the most persistent impression I received during my visit among Thomists," he wrote, "was the resolute and forthright manner in which they seize the initiative in philosophic discussion. This initiative, however, often disregards philosophic problems as such and seizes upon personalities to sustain its initial blows. In many instances, as soon as I had identified myself as a Pragmatist seeking to know more about Thomism, the first words from the lips of my Thomist companion would be a stream of abuse for John Dewey. Sometimes the invective would last for several minutes, and even when I had succeeded in diverting the subject of conversation to an examination of some Thomistic problems with which I was having difficulty, the innuendoes and insults would reappear from moment to moment in our discussion."

Unfortunately, there is a ring of truth to this description, confirming the opinion of many inquirers that arrogance, a closed mind, and a predilection for attacking personalities rather than problems, are the hallmarks of the Thomist mind. In the same issue of *Thought,* there was a sympathetic dialectical rejoinder by Father Harvanek, but clearly it required something like the contacts made during a four-day conference to show that these traits are far from characterizing the many technically competent American Thomists at work today.

THE ATTITUDE reported by Professor Morris is an attractive temptation for Thomists, it must be admitted frankly, precisely because they have a school-type of philosophy. Whether the school be Thomist or idealist or naturalist, it is exposed to certain peculiar dangers leading to a self-sterilizing sort of intellectual isolation. From the systematic form in which Thomistic doctrine can be formulated, many Thomists conclude that the system is a closed and completely self-sufficient one. This deadens their need to cooperate with

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other philosophies in the common quest of truth and to learn something from other minds. Again, the very fact of possessing a precise terminology often betrays Thomists into thinking that those who fail to use it are irremediably fuzzy, inaccurate, and unskilled. Another factor breeding philosophical separatism is the very historical tradition belonging to Thomism. Sometimes, it seduces people into letting their energy be so completely absorbed in the intricate record of past Thomisms that they lose their respect for, and capacity to deal with, the philosophical issues of our own generation.

Obviously, the remedy does not lie in attenuating these elements of system, terminology, and tradition, but rather in integrating them with other Thomistic considerations. To avoid the divorce of Thomism from the intellectual life of the nation requires a special effort which Thomists do not always make. There must be a vivid awareness that philosophy consists not only in a set of doctrines but also in a bent of mind, a critical way of tackling questions, examining evidences, and reaching conclusions. This is only another way of saying that a full-bodied philosophy has to integrate the intellectual virtues of understanding, science, and wisdom—and that the integrating activity goes on in living, contemporary minds. These minds owe a special debt of justice to their own age and to an intellectual study of its peculiar problems.

IF THOMISM cannot subsist in a timeless, impersonal vacuum but only in the living intelligence of existing thinkers, then it must insert itself into the present stage of philosophical investigation. Contemporary Thomists are properly required to show in actual discussion that they are familiar with the evidences which count today, that they are sensitive to the current perspectives and difficulties in philosophy, and that they are ready to learn from others and explain their own mind on issues. Although the Saint Louis Colloquium did not expect any perfect agreement to develop, it did bring out the fact that the areas of philosophical agreement and difference can be determined through rational analysis, without relying upon extra-philosophical notions. Indeed, a most striking outcome of the conference was a practical demonstration that the Thomistic positions are responsive to the available philosophical data and are open to examination according to the ordinary canons of inquiry. Thomism can take its place as an important and compelling explanation of the world, as soon as the Thomists begin to function as philosophers and assume their rightful share of the common work in contemporary American philosophy.

But the conference brought out that professional recognition also depends upon removing, in a sympathetic yet firm way, the prevailing image entertained by some contemporary philosophers of what the Thomist mind must be. According to this picture, the Thomist outlook in America has three chief features. First, it is impressively monolithic and close-ranked, with no disputes of any consequence arising among Thomists and all deep-going criticism reserved for others. Second, it reached definitive expression in the manuals composed around the turn of the century—the Stonyhurst series, Mercier, Coffey—and is totally dominated by popular restatements of these textbooks, apart from a few emphases introduced by Maritain and Gilson. Third, the American Thomist pretends to respect the sciences and their methods, but actually builds his philosophy upon the systematic denigration of modern science.

On all three scores, the actual experiences at the Saint Louis Colloquium indicated the need for a thorough revision of this image. It was emphasized that each of the Thomistic philosophers on the program was thinking for himself and that, on several basic points, he was in sharp conflict with other contemporary Thomists. The trend of the discussion brought home the fact that American Thomists have been doing original work during the past quarter-century and have moved far beyond the usually cited manuals. Some of the fundamental penetrations in our understanding of Saint Thomas and in our personal solution of new problems were underlined. Furthermore, the spirit in which the scientific methods and data were analyzed made it abundantly clear that their integrity was genuinely being respected, and that an attack upon them was no part of a sound reconstruction of the philosophical method. In this concrete way, something was conveyed of the philosophical character of American Thomism and of the need to give it careful, technical study. A number of stereotypes were discarded during these sessions.

SINCE THE question of communication is much to the fore, it may be worth examining the contribution made in this field by the Saint Louis Colloquium. Beyond enunciating a few broad ideals, it is unfruitful to remain at the level of a general theory of communication. Each field of knowledge has its special difficulties and methods for facilitating intellectual exchange. In the delicate area of philosophical truth and the personal assent it seeks after, a premium must be placed upon keeping the discussion relevant and within hailing distance of the main issues. The Colloquium found that the most profitable approach was to concentrate squarely upon a few carefully selected problems at the heart of philosophy, and to leave aside for that occasion the historical background and the minor difficulties which cropped up. On successive days, the

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attention of the entire group was concentrated upon these questions: What is the relevance of scientific methods for philosophy? What is the starting point of metaphysics? What is the nature of human freedom? What is the relation between fact and ethical value?

The advantage of using this problematic procedure was apparent. It threw the stress at once upon the philosophical issue itself, eliminating the preliminaries and decorative borders which only impede fruitful inquiry. In this way, it showed that a Thomist was like any other philosopher in needing to have recourse to the recognized methods of analysis and the public evidence of experience. This method also brought to light the very wide area of issues which are the common concern of all philosophers and which present real difficulties to them all, Thomists included. The folly of the isolationist mentality in philosophy was exposed in the very process of trying to grapple with questions in which everyone had a common interest.

Another illusion which was cleared up in the course of the discussion was the attempt to describe either Thomism or the rest of contemporary philosophy in monolithic terms. The deep division revealed between naturalism, contextualism, and valuational realism indicated the wisdom of referring to contemporary philosophies in the plural, of refraining from making any *en bloc* evaluation, and of relating Thomism to contemporary philosophies in a distributive way. The Thomist has to learn to take up his problems one by one, to accept instruction from any quarter (especially from the direction in which it is least expected), and to guide his judgment severely by the evidence presented by a philosophy and not by extrinsic considerations.

The value of the piecemeal approach over that of vague, total declarations about other philosophies comes out undeniably at such discussions. The contemporary philosopher is better disposed by the example of one Thomist honestly tackling the precise question of how to begin metaphysics than by a dozen grandiose laudations of metaphysics which fail to display technical competence in any particular metaphysical question. Attention is won more effectively by some careful analyses of the import of an ethical proposition than by attempting to pit one entire ethical outlook against another at a purely general level. The non-Thomists in America seem to be asking nothing more exorbitant than actual performance of a journeyman's work in some specific area before acknowledging that Thomism is one of the serious philosophical positions today.

ONCE A common ground of reasonable discussion is found, the difficulties due to terminology can be lessened to the point where mutual understanding of another's position is possible. At the Saint Louis Colloquium, all the philosophers had to guard against the easy use of their own jargon and had to make the effort to clarify their use of terms in ordinary language. Given sufficient patience, literacy, and material knowledge of contemporary thinking, the traditionally cited handicap of terminology ceased to be of primary importance: it soon gave way before a direct study of the doctrinal positions themselves.

Doctrinal agreement among the various philosophies was strongest on these points: rejection of any a priori approach in metaphysics and acceptance of experience as the starting point, the reality of freedom as a personal perfection and the presence of a moral dimension in the free man and the free society, and the need for objective, rational analysis of ethical propositions. The most radical disagreement arose over a question of fact: whether there is any knowledge and method not entirely reducible to the scientific order, as that term is presently understood. The possibility and meaningfulness of metaphysics were acknowledged, but the naturalist position did not admit that we are in actual possession of any metaphysical knowledge or of a distinctively philosophical method.

If there was any one question which constantly asserted its controlling influence, it was that of God's existence. None of the philosophers accepted the view of logical empiricism that propositions about God are literally meaningless. But there was a broad range of speculation, going from Professor Hook's God-seeking atheism to Professor Vivas' nascent theism to the Thomistic metaphysical theory of God. It did not require any formal declaration on the part of the conference to acknowledge the primordial importance of the problem of God for all these philosophies.

One final aspect of the Colloquium at Saint Louis is encouraging for future work in contemporary philosophy in America. Here was a group of thinkers discussing the most fundamental philosophical issues—the scope of science, the actuality of metaphysics, the existence of God and freedom, the modes of determining ethical judgments—and doing so in a critical but friendly spirit of inquiry. There was a difference of viewpoint without divisiveness, philosophical argument without rancor, mutual instruction without abandonment of principle. Such a meeting of minds is one of the good fruits of our pluralist, democratic society. It shows that Thomists and non-Thomists can indeed find a common ground in the rational consideration of problems and evidences, and that all the philosophies in America can embrace the discipline of the public canons of inquiry. The work of mutual exploration has scarcely begun in our country, but it can be carried out by all philosophers who admit the common pursuit of truth. To take their full share in such common philosophical discussions is the condition for the further growth and intellectual integrity of American Thomists.

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THE STAGE

FUN AND GAMES

THE MUSICAL revue presents to criticism a vexing problem which does not end with its odious spelling. For of all the contemporary forms of theater, none seeks so exclusively to divert, none is so ephemeral, none so relentlessly tethered to the topical; and with these qualities criticism as such has small concern: here one becomes merely another opinion crying in the democratic wilderness. Much of Mr. Leonard Sillman's "New Faces of 1956," for example, seems to me expensive rubbish, and some of its passages of a sublime and cherished idiocy, but how may you know whether your rubbish is mine, or if my humors wax eccentrically as yours? "*I* would no more choose to live in the nineteen-twenties than in the eighteenth century," a student of mine once wrote loftily on his paper, and then, taking thought, added in sudden alarm: "but of course, everyone to his own choice." And so you must not ask me for a judicious account, balanced and secure: the most one can hazard is a commentary wildly personal in nature.

Mr. Sillman is an entrepreneur of fresh talent whose diligence takes him into the most obscure warrens of the entertainment industry, whence he returns every few years with faces new and eager to add to his celebrated gallery. For the present occasion, he has gathered many that are pleasant, several that are droll, and one or two of exceptional spirit and charm. Mr. T. C. Jones, for instance, is a female impersonator of devilish mimetic wit, who marvelously guys Miss Tallulah Bankhead's slimy prowl and cottonmouth diction. (I must note parenthetically that I anticipate no future for female impersonators—what will they do when Miss Hepburn and Miss Davis and the Bankhead retire to write their memoirs?—but let it pass, let it pass.) Not even the musical banalities which weigh her down can extinguish Miss Inga Swenson's curious exaltation or her lovely personal quality. Mr. John Reardon's voice is robust and winning, Miss Billie Hayes a ferocious grotesque, Miss Virginia Martin a soubrette whom no one could ignore. Of so many, these faces linger longest perhaps, which is not to deny the others their particular excellences, often singular and fine. Mr. Sillman has been less fortunate in his music—usually obvious and often unutterably mawkish—and his sketches, which frequently begin with promise but lose their way in the satiric underbrush.

Mr. Peter Larkin's settings, which elsewhere have often the unhappy effect of transforming drama into fantasy, are here airy and elegant achievements of visual wit, if perhaps, like the expensive atmosphere which enfolds the occasion, somewhat in excess of the circumstances. It is only just to add that, whatever its other inadequacies, "New Faces of 1956" does contain —in its fantastic parody of the Ziegfeld Follies—one of the funniest revue sketches to be seen in New York within the past decade. (*At the Ethel Barrymore Theater.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

A STATELY PLEASURE-DOME

AS WELCOME as a summer breeze are two new musical movies now brightening our screens. Charles Brackett's magnificent production of "The King and I" would be welcome in any season. The screenplay (written by Ernest Lehman from the Rodgers-and-Hammerstein musical play, which was based on *Anna and the King of Siam* by Margaret Landon, which in turn stemmed from two books by Anna Leonowens herself) gets off to a slow start. But the film gradually gathers momentum and mounts with one pleasant surprise after the other right through its joyful and tearful finale. Perhaps the lagging start is due mainly to the lack of warmth between Anna, the English widow who arrives in Siam in 1862 to be governess to King Mongkut's children, and her own little boy (Rex Thompson), who is used throughout the film more as a stage property than a real person. As the governess, however, Deborah Kerr displays a radiant freshness that she has not shown in her movies for a long time; she is indignantly irate with the King when he denies her the separate house he promised; she melts with affection and decides to stay after a delightful scene in which her charges are paraded before her to "The March of the Siamese Children"; and she's utterly charming in the classroom as she sings and cavorts, in a style that even Gertrude Lawrence would have approved of, with the royal wives and kids to "Getting To Know You."

Anna's big scenes are with the King, who is played to perfection by Yul Brynner displaying, as he did on the stage, a virile personality combined with intellectual strength and weakness, cunning and naivete, cruelty and affection. It's no wonder that this egotistical and uneducated monarch who wants to bring truth and justice to his people finds the equally determined Anna trying and life a puzzlement. The governess and king have no easy time of it, but they learn to get along and compromise, and they provide plenty of fun for the audience when they haggle over Anna's house, when he insists that she always keep her head lower than his, and when he dictates the letter to President "Lingkong"

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to whom he is sending two elephants to help win the war in America.

Director Walter Lang has allowed the secondary roles to be quite secondary, but they are handsomely played by Rita Moreno and Carlos Rivas as the tragic young lovers, Martin Benson as the Siamese Prime Minister, Terry Saunders as the head wife who sings the lovely "Something Wonderful" in praise of the King who thinks with his heart which may not always be right, Patrick Adiarte as the Crown Prince in whom all of Anna's hopes and efforts are realized when the King dies, and many, many others.

By no means secondary in "The King and I" are the stunning sets designed by Lyle R. Wheeler and John De Cuir and the costumes of Irene Sharaff. Imaginative, opulent and rich in color, these sets are further enhanced by excellent photography in DeLuxe Color and CinemaScope 55 which adds to the depth of the lush palace scenes. And not the least of the many assets in this first-rate operetta-in-film is the effective staging by Jerome Robbins of the dances and musical numbers, the high point of which—and a very high point it is—is the vivid, stylized ballet of "The Small House of Uncle Thomas." Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the plethora of splendors in the movie version of "The King and I" is that they don't smother or detract from the original. Richard Rodgers' haunting music and Oscar Hammerstein's folksy lyrics still come through with a simple effect. And the touching, often sentimental, story also survives one of the most elaborate movies ever filmed.

THE OTHER new musical, "High Society," doesn't have quite as clear sailing. While it has a good cast and some sparkling entertainment, Producer Sol C. Siegel and Director Charles Walters unfortunately relegated its pleasures to the last half of the film. Cole Porter's songs in the first part are only so-so; and one is constantly reminded, since this is a musical version of Philip Barry's "The Philadelphia Story," how good Katharine Hepburn, Cary Grant and Jimmy Stewart were in the witty original. In corresponding roles, Grace Kelly, Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra do have their bright moments; but Kelly is not Hepburn and she seems almost type-cast as the beautiful but prudish goddess on the pedestal who expects perfection from those around her. Bing displays his usual casual charm as her imperfect ex-husband who failed to hold the lovely goddess but now hopes to win her back before her impending marriage to a dull stick-in-the-mud (John Lund). As the writer and photographer who are covering the wedding for *Spy* magazine, Frank Sinatra and Celeste Holm seem to have the most fun around the place—the place now being Newport, R. I., where a Jazz Festival is competing with the wedding.

This Festival fortunately brings Louis Armstrong into the proceedings and some life to the sagging plot. From then on the film wakes up and rips right along. Bing and Frankie cavort wildly to "What a Swell Party This Is," and although its lyrics aren't in the best taste, its music is sure-fire. Grace discovers how easy it is to fall off a pedestal, and the morning-after scene glows with warmth and understanding and setting things right. If "High Society" were shortened and quickened, it could be top-notch. It certainly has all the ingredients.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

PATRIOTS AND TRAITORS

Cleveland, Ohio

TO the Editors: I have not read *The Loyal and the Disloyal,* by Morton Grodzins. I did read Michael Harrington's review of it in The Commonweal [May 18].

Unless the review grossly misrepresents the book, we have in Messrs. Harrington and Grodzins the conjunction of two minds, neither or which is capable of making the elementary distinction between treason and dissent.

Mr. Harrington quotes Grodzins approvingly: ". . . all patriots are potential traitors. The paths of disloyalty are closed to no man." Unless Mr. Harrington has taken that statement out of context and distorted its meaning, it is either doubletalk or deadly falsehood.

Every one has the duty to dissent, to withhold cooperation, even perhaps to revolt, if his nation unmistakably goes gravely contrary to his honest and carefully considered principles of serious right and wrong. Such has been the path of men like Cardinals Mindszenty and Stepinac.

To betray trust, to sell out, to commit treason—this is a totally different thing. It is profoundly wrong, and to justify it is to invite destruction of law, order and authority.

No true patriot can be a potential traitor. The two things are mutually exclusive. Grodzins' statement, as quoted by Mr. Harrington, is a contradiction in terms, unless words are to be perverted out of all meaning. . . .

JOSEPH A. BREIG.

REPLY

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: The whole gist of Mr. Breig's objection hangs on his having made a sharp, clear distinction between dissent, non-cooperation, and even revolt, on the one hand, and treason on the other. Then, having defined treason so that it is always evil

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and impermissible (permissible treason being taken care of under dissent, etc.), he reproaches me for saying that all patriots are potential traitors. Given his terms, I agree with them, but then I didn't use his terms in my review.

More, I find Mr. Breig's definitions evasive. Hitler came to power under the fiction of democratic legality; the officers in the July plot had sworn an oath to him; in organizing that plot, they betrayed a trust. Or, to be hypothetical, supposing that a Stalinist movement came to power by the will of a democratic majority (it hasn't happened yet; it could), and then began the usual systematic destruction of political freedom which is part of Stalinism. How would Mr. Breig act toward that government?

Either, then, the dispute between us is semantic, or else Mr. Breig is backing some positivist, majoritarian conception of political life. I trust the former is the case. It's just that I think that Mr. Breig is frightened by the word treason and has to make his distinction. I prefer this statement by Trevor Huddleston—I think it more straightforward: "Although I am a South African citizen and have a South African passport at present, and do very greatly and very deeply love South Africa—I do not love the government of South Africa, nor its policies, nor the general racial attitude of white South Africa today. In the eyes of the government that constitutes treason. And so you have before you a traitor to his country. I'm sorry but there it is."

MICHAEL HARRINGTON.

"THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION"

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Reading Thomas Molnar's "The Future of Education" in the June 22 issue reminded me, mostly by way of contrast, of an observation David Riesman makes at the beginning of one of his essays, "A revival of the tradition of utopian thinking seems to me one of the important intellectual tasks of today. . . ."

I don't mean that Mr. Molnar should have been more "utopian"; his statement is that of the dispassionate prognosticator and certainly all that he has to say must be taken with the greatest respect. But I do think that aspects of the conditions that now prevail afford more optimism about the future of liberal education than his remarks indicate. For example, he refers to a New Jersey oil executive, who in the March '56 *Atlantic Monthly* "expressed the desire to see more liberal arts graduates seek and obtain employment in industry." Mr. Shepard, the executive in question, first made that point at a meeting of the College English Association held at Michigan State University in June, 1954. The CEA was sponsoring then for the fourth time (it has subsequently sponsored two more such meetings) a national institute on the subject, "Industry and the Liberal Arts." The main purpose of these institutes is to awaken industry, and perhaps the academic community as a whole, also, to the values liberal arts graduates, as genuine quality products of higher education, could bring to business. It was the first of these institutes, held in June, 1952, that led *Fortune Magazine* to publish two articles, "Should a Businessman Be Educated?" (the answer was "yes") and "Why Don't Businessmen Read Books?" (the answer to this was that they don't read books because they don't think such reading is necessary to their success). In June, '54, *Fortune* examined what it called "the biggest new fact in higher education; viz., that one out of every eight college students now majors in 'business.'" The article discussing the findings was entitled, "The Business Schools: Pass or Flunk?" The answer? Flunk . . . decidedly! One of the article's conclusions was that American business would have to decide "that a liberal education is to be accorded a high degree of favor and is in fact the best professional preparation." In short, Mr. Shepard was not writing in isolation or *in vacuo*.

More evidence of the growing awareness of the utility of the useless may be noted in the growing numbers of engineering colleges that have put into effect a five-year plan to give their graduates a degree in liberal arts as well as a degree in engineering. Many colleges offering engineering degrees accept students who have spent three years in liberal arts colleges and then give them two years of an engineering curriculum. This plan gets the vote as the best solution to "The Trouble with Engineers," which George Odiorne wrote for *Harper's*, Jan. 1955. Add to the foregoing the report two years ago of the special committee of the Association of American Medical Colleges, which advocated a far stronger foundation in the liberal arts than our future doctors are now getting. Also, how about the growing practice of allowing high school juniors, and even sophomores, to begin their college education a year or two ahead of time, with all the implications that has for the liberal arts curriculum?

If we in Catholic higher education, particularly, pledged as we are at least in lip service, to what we call the Catholic liberal arts tradition, are going to get really serious about our planning for the imminent huge enrollments just ahead, we might do well to ruminate over the quotation with which David Riesman ends the essay referred to above: "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans: aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram, once recorded, will never die. . . ."

(*Brother*) CORMAC PHILIP, F.S.C.,
Manhattan College.

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Learned, Crotchety Account of English Poetry

THE CROWNING PRIVILEGE: COLLECTED ESSAYS ON POETRY. By Robert Graves. Doubleday. $5.

By GERALD WEALES

LIVELY, busy, chattering, Graves is a great collector of acorns of information; he places himself always far out on a limb, nibbles casually, even aimlessly at his vast store and tosses the hulls, sometimes in anger, sometimes with zest, at the world below. It is a pleasure to watch most squirrels perform—and Graves is no exception—for a short time, but not necessarily for the length of his latest collection of essays, *The Crowning Privilege*.

The bulk of the book consists of the Clark Lectures, a kind of misguided tour through English poetry, which Graves gave at Cambridge in 1954-1955; the volume is pieced out with critical essays, incidental essays, reviews, at least one of which dates back to 1927. Across the thirty years that these essays cover, Graves remains consistent in his view of poetry, his distaste for particular poets, the hobbyhorses he insists on riding. Poetry, it develops, is a personal experience, one involving the poet and his Muse —throughout the book Graves plays footsy with his White Goddess—to which the audience is at best tangential. Although this view of poetic creativity always becomes involved with magic, myth and mystery when Graves talks about it, it is as sound, at least metaphorically, as many other theories of artistic creation. It becomes a partisan theory with Graves because he imagines that he has certain knowledge concerning which poets have genuinely communed with the Muse and which have not. His touchstones are John Skelton, John Clare, William Davies, Laura Riding. Aside from Chaucer and Shakespeare, he has little use for the major English poets—Donne, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth, Keats — who mistook something (usually ambition) for the visitation of the Muse.

Ordinarily, it is a pleasure to watch the big boys pinpricked down to size, and I could cheerfully join Graves on some of his forays, but his attacks are a little too oblique, too cavalier, too unfair really to elicit much sympathy. His condemnation of these poets is often on the basis of extremely bad poems, although he admits that all poets can write badly; he beats Milton with *Lycidas,* but that elegy has been fair game, even for bright undergraduates, ever since Dr. Johnson tromped on it. Often Graves' real resentment against a poet has nothing to do with poetry. He does not like the way Milton treated Marie Powell (at least in Graves' version, the novel *Wife to Mr. Milton*) and the way Wordsworth treated Annette Vallon, so he naturally assumes that the Muse, the mother-goddess, would not lend her encouragement to men whose behavior, even at this distance, still annoys Robert Graves. He tries to disintegrate Wordsworth in one of the lectures by quoting from an endless travel letter which Wordsworth, unadvisedly it now turns out, sent to Graves' grand-uncle and by juxtaposing the prose quotes alongside some of the poet's dullest poetic description; in the process Graves himself collapses, for the essay is one of the most unreadable in the book.

The surprising thing about the book is that so often the essays become tiresome and niggling. Graves can write with real verve, wielding a splendid bludgeon, as in the lecture "These Be Your Gods, O Israel!" where Yeats, Pound, Eliot and Thomas become his victims. More often his fondness for arcane information intrudes on what he says, interrupts an essay whose main concern seems to lie quite elsewhere. Graves' scholarship makes me uncomfortable. When he is deep in the myths (and mists) that surround his White Goddess, the Welsh and Irish bardic traditions or the derivation of words, fields where I walk uneasily, I would like to turn to him for support, and then I remember that he can speak with certainty about Shakespeare or Chaucer, operating from feeling rather than fact, and I am leery of leaning on him.

Of course, he follows a respectable English scholarly tradition—one that produced, for instance, Dover Wilson's *The Essential Shakespeare*—where conjecture and guess-work are welcomed much more easily and happily than they are in our own leadenly careful Germanic tradition. When he restores the nursery rhymes to their original forms or supplies the missing versions of *Tom o'Bedlam's Song,* when he tells me what one poet felt and what another thought, I am sometimes amused by his presumption, sometimes impressed by his intuition, but not necessarily convinced. If his version of history and his version of myth are to be used as massive metaphors to explain that the poet is and by right ought to be a particular kind of gent, one who sports with his Muse in lonely pleasure, one who sees clearly and sees whole, but only while the vision holds him, perhaps the erudite oleo of the book has reason. But then he should not keep recurring to the phrase "unprofessional conduct" as though he were setting up rules for an engineering society.

I have, of course, fallen into the error of trying to set up order out of Graves' disorder, to put real form into essays that stretch over thirty years and that often appear to have been occasioned by a momentary pique. Take the book as the work of a crotchety, sometimes irascible, sometimes likable old gentleman who cannot keep from showing off his favorite tricks regardless of the subject he ostensibly is discussing. Read *The Crowning Privilege* haphazardly, as it is written, savoring the sections that amuse you, skipping the parts that you find incomprehensible, but do not, for pity's sake, rely on Graves alone.

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Germany's Post-War Development

RETURN TO POWER. By Alistair Horne. Praeger. $6.

By VICTOR C. FERKISS

THE AMAZING economic and political recovery of Western Germany since World War II is something of which most Americans are aware, but which few actually comprehend. The so-called "German miracle" seems such not only because we have lost contact with German life but also because of the complexity of post-war developments.

A useful antidote to the confusion surrounding the recent German scene is a book aptly titled *Return to Power,* by the German correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* from 1952 to 1955. Alistair Horne is a journalist and has written a journalist's book. While not profound, it is the work of a competent reporter seeking not merely to be objective but also to understand. Mr. Horne manages the rare feat of treating the postwar Germans as human beings without turning into an apologist for the Germany of the past.

Return to Power is primarily concerned with German political life from the defeat of Nazism to the granting of West German sovereignty. Mr. Horne makes sense out of such events as the much-publicized Nazi "revival" movement of Werner Naumann, the rising German hostility toward the conspirators of the "29th of July," and the defection and return of former intelligence chief Otto John. His chapters on German economy describe how the "free enterprise" policy of economic minister Ludwig Erhard has revived German production, and they chart the restoration of the great industrial empires. He pinpoints weak spots in the economy such as the transportation system and the coal industry, and indicates that the thus-far halting steps toward the development of atomic power in Germany must be successful if she is to close the "energy gap" which menaces the foundations of her industrial recovery.

Mr. Horne, unfortunately, devotes virtually no attention to the artistic and intellectual life of post-war Germany, though this omission may be his way of saying that these are of little importance in the new Germany. Mr. Horne is at his best in describing German popular psychology, so that one wishes he had devoted more space to such topics as the German attitudes toward war, work and leisure. In general his observations coincide with this reviewer's, and his statement "if the Federal Republic has a philosophy, that philosophy is materialism" is a fine summation of the present state of affairs.

The thread of unity in *Return to Power* is provided by Horne's highly sympathetic account of Chancellor Adenauer's heroic fight to keep Western Germany free, stable, and an ally of the West. Reading the political sections of the book, however, is like reading ancient history. Despite his open admiration of "der Alte," Mr. Horne realizes that Adenauer's accomplishments may not survive him. Mr. Horne points out that the Christian Democratic Union is an unstable group, living on borrowed time, and that there is no one in sight who could take Adenauer's place.

Within the past few months, the Free Democrats have ended their collaboration with the Adenauer government, and the Kremlin's new "sweetness and light" policy has weakened the whole structure of NATO, as well as the validity of the premises behind it, rendering German participation meaningless. The defense of Germany against armed Soviet attack is now a secondary problem, but the vital question of German unification remains.

If we would understand the fast unfolding future, knowledge of the past is indispensible. *Return to Power* is a sound and readable contribution to our understanding of the phase of German development now drawing to a close.

Celestial City on Earth

THE GOTHIC CATHEDRAL. By Otto von Simson. Bollingen Series. Pantheon. $6.50.

By JAMES R. MELLOW

FOR MOST of us who were brought up on the gloomy and solid materialism which twentieth century Gothic replicas seem determined to inspire, this advice from Henry Adams may be necessary: "You must try to rid your mind of the traditional idea that the Gothic is an intentional expression of religious gloom. The necessity for light was the motive of the Gothic architects." Few books should offer more help in dispelling those dark illusions than Professor von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral.* Like Adams's earlier effort, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres,* von Simson's study undertakes a similar but more detailed and scholarly task, discussing the Gothic achievement, with its theological, political and economic implications, in terms of two monuments of the medieval mind.

His careful analysis of the Abbey of St. Denis and of Chartres Cathedral does, in effect, confirm Adams's observation. In tracing the motivations which lay behind the Gothic style that had begun in France in the early part of the twelfth century and had spread throughout Europe with amazing rapidity, he puts before us the relevant passages of medieval thinkers— Hugh of St. Victor, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure —pointing out the basic medieval conception of beauty as "the radiance of truth" together with those ideas which culminated in a "metaphysics of light." And he proceeds further upon a theme which Adams does not take up; the metaphysical importance of proportion to the minds of medieval builders.

The Gothic edifice, the symbolic realization of the Celestial City on earth, was structured according to the canons which governed its

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Biblical archetypes, the Tabernacle of Moses and the Temple of Solomon, whose proportions were revealed by the Divine Architect, God. The secret of those proportions was, in the belief of the age, to be discovered in geometry. "With but a single dimension given," Professor von Simson tells us, "the Gothic architect developed all other magnitudes of his ground plan and elevation by strictly geometrical means, using as modules certain regular polygons, above all the square." Although the professional secret for developing such proportions "according to true measure" was guarded by the medieval guilds, it has been preserved for us through the model book of Villard de Honnecourt and the writings of Matthew Roriczer.

Like the metaphysics of light, the metaphysics of proportion emanated from the same sources; from the authority of St. Augustine, whose philosophy dominated much of medieval thought, and from the authority of Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, who by a singular confusion of medieval scholarship, became identified with St. Denis, the patron saint of the royal house and of the realm in which the Gothic style had its beginnings.

With its impulse for light and for the harmony of geometric proportion firmly based upon philosophical and theological ground, the Gothic style sent up its daring vaults. Emancipated from the thick-walled Romanesque style by its system of flying buttresses, it substituted its own "walls of light"—the stained glass windows whose radiance manifested one of the major principles of Gothic belief.

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"The Gothic is singular in this," Henry Adams maintained, "one seems easily at home in the Renaissance; one is not too strange in the Byzantine; as for the Roman, it is ourselves; and we could walk blindfolded through every chink and cranny of the Greek mind; all these styles seem modern, when we come close to them; but the Gothic gets away." In securing that style by an admirably documented work of historical research, in airing out that dank image of the Gothic as a tomb of dark religiosity, Professor von Simson has performed a distinct service of enlightenment.

Backward Glance

THE DESOLATE SOUTH 1865-1866. By John T. Trowbridge. Edited by Gordon Carroll. Little, Brown. $6.

By JOHN COURNOS

JOHN T. TROWBRIDGE, New Englander, friend of the literary élite of the day, early contributor to the *Atlantic,* set off in the midsummer of 1865 on a tour of the South, where he spent four months in the key states of the Confederacy. He had gifts as a reporter; he set down graphically and with detachment what he saw and heard. He repeatedly asked questions, and managed to get answers. His book was published under its present title in 1866. Now it appears with considerable excisions. Ninety years after its first appearance its value as a historical and human document remains undiminished, and is of singular interest to our own time.

It is not only that the author reports vividly the devastation caused by a lately concluded conflict which should never have taken place but also, what is more pertinent and important, he weighs the problems of the Negroes and whites in all their intensity. Passing scene after scene of carnage and horror, he talked to survivors, white and black, master and slave, and obtained results psychologically illuminating.

The majority of the whites were resentful and arrogant. They considered the triumph of the victor unjust. "The Confederate Army never was whipped! We were overpowered." Some of the slave-owners actually expected from the Government compensation for their slaves. They resented the Government's feeding the freed men, because they still entertained the idea that if the Negroes were wholly dependent upon the bounty of their former masters they would remain slaves in fact if not in name. Some of them maintained, with an assurance which the author found scarcely convincing, that "the Southern people are really their [the Negroes'] best friends." The masters interviewed by Trowbridge were in that state of helpless irresolution which came from having maintained the institution of slavery for so long that the habit was in their blood and they no longer knew what to do. Repeatedly and with emphasis the author rejects the notion then claimed by the whites that the average Negro was lazy, more ready to steal than to work. On the contrary, he found the freedmen exemplary in their earnest desire to do their part. They were pathetically grateful to the Government that freed them, under right conditions they never shirked, and they "manifested commendable pride in supporting themselves and their families." This book records a dismal pilgrimage that is here and there illumined by occasional shafts of light.

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Assessment

THE MEANING OF BANDUNG. Carlos P. Romulo. University of North Carolina Press. $2.50.

By HAROLD C. HINTON

IT IS probably too much to expect of a man that he analyze objectively and adequately a major political event in which he himself took part. But by the same token he must expect criticism of his analysis by others with less first-hand experience but greater detachment.

This is not to say that General Romulo does not tell us much that is true and important in his book about the Bandung Conference of April 1955, at which he served as chief of the Philippine delegation. What he says about the conference, which for a week functioned almost as a parliament of half of mankind, however, falls far short of doing it justice and manages to convey some misleading impressions which are none the better because they are generally pleasing to the American reader.

With regard to the composition of the conference, General Romulo neglects to mention the important facts that Pakistan, as spokesmen for the Arab states, vetoed the idea of inviting Israel to participate, and that the African delegates were almost completely overshadowed by the Asian. He praises the informality, flexibility, and lack of a fixed agenda which characterized the conference and says that they "played into the hands" of the pro-Western delegations. But he fails to note that much of the credit for this situation belongs to Nehru, his *bête noire,* who favored imitating the informal procedures of the conferences of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Another case of injustice to Nehru, to whom General Romulo's reaction is evidently visceral, occurs in a passage which refers to a denunciation of the Cominform by Premier Kotelawala of Ceylon. Actually Nehru also criticized the Cominform, although in more polite language, as incompatible with

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the spirit of peaceful coexistence, and we can be sure that his words carried more weight in the Kremlin than did those of Kotelawala.

Nehru is not in fact the woolly-headed fellow traveler that he is so often painted in the Western press. He is a complex and highly intelligent man playing a very dangerous game for stakes which he understands better than do most of his critics. He is also in the unfortunate position of being virtually unable to explain the game to the kibitzers looking over his shoulder from various directions without giving it away to the opposition sitting across the Himalayas. Suffice it to say that in October 1954 he secured from the Peking regime pledges to negotiate on the citizenship of overseas Chinese living in other Asian countries and not to interfere in the affairs of China's neighbors—concessions more important than any the United States has so far gained from Communist China through its policy of toughness.

Neutralism naturally receives some hard knocks from General Romulo. He seems to consider it an attitude felt by only a few wilful or vicious Asian leaders and not shared by Asians generally. Surely the results of the recent general elections in Indonesia and Ceylon, cast serious doubt on this view.

In General Romulo's pages the Philippines emerge as the main champion of SEATO at the Bandung Conference. This role was actually played rather by Pakistan, all the more surprising because SEATO does not cover Pakistan in the event of a war with India.

Chou En-lai also receives less credit from General Romulo than is due to the ablest of the world's foreign ministers now in office. Not only did he learn a great deal at Bandung, but he won some important successes. He eased somewhat the fear and suspicion with which Communist China's neighbors had regarded her, and there emerged virtually an informal nonaggression pact between them.

General Romulo, who is shockingly pro-American, says almost nothing but kind things about the United States. Yet our government's attitude toward the Bandung Conference was one of "benevolent indifference"—a most unfortunate phrase. President Eisenhower sent no message of greeting to the conference, although such a message would certainly have created an excellent impression. It was left to Congressman Powell, who went to Bandung in a private capacity against the wishes of the State Department, to present the American case.

Finally, General Romulo considers the Bandung Conference a major cause of the new and more reasonable look in Soviet and Chinese Communist foreign policy. This is simply not true, since the new look antedates the Bandung Conference by at least a year.

The book under review demonstrates once more the truth of the proposition that genuine idealism, eloquence, and an illustrious name, admirable though these things are, are no substitute for objectivity and the power of critical analysis.

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TO COMMONWEAL READERS

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